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SUBJECT: EU ON DARFUR: CEASEFIRE MONITORING, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND UNCHR ISSUES

REF: (A) STATE 90371 (B) STATE 88689

Classified By: PRMOFF MARC J. MEZNAR. REASONS 1.4 (B) AND (D).

1. (S) Summary. The EU will contribute personnel and financial resources to support both the Ceasefire Commission and other efforts to establish peace in Darfur, as well as to address the complex humanitarian emergency in the region. The EU feels the disagreement at the UNCHR meeting was not over the essentials of Darfur but over tactics. However, U.S. statements in Geneva have given rise to some speculation in Brussels over a possible U.S. military intervention in Darfur if the situation cannot be contained by diplomacy. The EC is expected to double its assistance resources this year for Sudan and Sudanese refugees in Chad. On 4/27, the EU Council expressed "grave concern" over the situation and called on the GoS to allow full, unhindered access to the region. End Summary.

EU Efforts to Support Ceasefire

2. (C) Following receipt of reftel A, DCM spoke with Christoph Heusgen, head of EU High Representative Solana's policy unit, regarding EU efforts on behalf of Darfur. Heusgen said that following GAERC discussion on 4/26, the Policy and Security Committee (PSC) met on 4/27 and decided that the EU must do something beyond humanitarian assistance.

This meant support, logistical and otherwise, for the Ceasefire Commission and the Joint Commission. He said the EU will also probably contribute six persons to the Observer Mission and support logistical contributions by African countries. Heusgen said the EU would participate in a "reconnaissance" mission next week to assess needs and to prepare the ground for greater EU action.

3. (C) PRMOFF also discussed these issues with DG Development Sudan Desk Officer Christian Manahl who made many of the same points. He said that at the PSC meeting of 4/30, the EU is expected to offer the following human resources (depending on the final agreement between the GoS and rebels):

- one Brussels-based military staff representative to participate in the AU-led reconnaissance mission to Darfur;
- one EU representative on the Joint Commission that oversees the overall implementation of the ceasefire;
- the deputy chief of staff position of the Ceasefire Commission (CFC), provided by an EU Member State, to reside in Darfur;
- five or six Member State officials to join the group of 25 proposed observers.

4. (SBU) Regarding funding, Manahl said that if no larger staff protection force (a group of 250 has been on and off the table) were needed, then funds already in the pipeline could cover the African contributions to the observer mission. He referred to a 10 million euro contribution to the AU's conflict prevention and peacekeeping unit from the EC. This, of course, is depending on the two parties accepting AU leadership in such a mechanism.

5. (C) Manahl said that AU Director for Peace and Security Sam Ibok's efforts in N'Djamena to sell the AU agreement to the two sides has not been easy. The validity and sustainability of the April 25 agreement remains doubtful, taking into account the ambiguous position of the rebels. Next steps should include clarifying the position of the rebels and the establishing of a clear schedule and agenda for the implementation of the ceasefire agreement. The framework for further political talks also needs to be clarified.

EU Analysis of UNCHR Dispute with the USG, Possible U.S. Military Intervention

6. (S) Manahl (protect) forwarded PRMOFF an internal analysis of what went wrong in Geneva. It included, "Cooperation

between the EU and US has previously been good, but sharp divergences have appeared at the UNCHR at Geneva, where the U.S. undermined a (successful) joint initiative of the EU and the African Group resulting in the adoption of the Chairman's decision.... The difference between the EU and U.S. positions is a matter of tactics and overall objectives rather than assessment. We have advocated a more compromising approach towards the African Group in the CHR, convinced that only close cooperation between the EU and the U.S. on the one hand, and the AU and Sudan's neighbors on the other, can secure the consolidation of the ceasefire. The U.S., on its side, appears to believe that strong additional pressure on the GoS is necessary to achieve a more compromising attitude of Khartoum. Furthermore, the U.S. is also somehow using the Darfur issue to exert further pressure on the GoS in relation to the north-south peace negotiations."

17. (S) Another part of the internal EU document which speculated on a possible U.S. military intervention stated, "It is presently unclear whether the U.S. would consider, or is considering, a military intervention in case of a continuation of the campaign of ethnic cleansing; the reference to Rwanda (only two weeks after the genocide commemoration) and Kosovo seems to indicate that Washington is playing with the idea. It is clear that such a military intervention would bring the peace process in Darfur, but also the negotiations between the GoS and the SPLM/A under IGAD auspices, to collapse.

EC Expected to Double Aid to Sudanese in 2004

18. (U) On 4/22, PRMOFF delivered talking points contained in reftel b regarding the worsening humanitarian situation in Darfur. European Commission (EC) interlocutors are in full agreement with USG analysis of the situation and need to support international relief organizations both financially and politically in order to gain unimpeded access to Darfur.

19. (SBU) In a meeting with ECHO Director Costanza Adinolfi and her staff on 4/28, she noted that "Sudan has never been an easy crisis." She said that an ECHO officer had had visa difficulties to enter the country and although he was expected to arrive in Darfur that morning they had no assurances that he would actually make it to the region. Adinolfi stated that the EC had issued a strong appeal to warring parties earlier in the day to secure safe humanitarian access so that the enormous needs of the displaced and affected populations could be properly addressed. She said that from a humanitarian point of view it was irrelevant to assign blame or determine who was at fault for the deteriorating situation, but that the international community should work together to meet basic food and shelter needs. Despite the ceasefire and other on-going talks between Sudanese authorities and rebels, the fact remained that there was no real progress with regard to access. She also pointed out that the negotiated ceasefire was for only 45 days and that much time had already been lost by delaying tactics.

110. (SBU) Adinolfi said that ECHO had decided to request 10 million euros from the emergency reserves as part of its response to the growing humanitarian crisis in Darfur. This money is in addition to 2004 program funding of 20 million euros for Sudan as well as 4 million euros for Sudanese refugees in Chad -- money already in the pipeline. She noted that the lack of access to the displaced is severely affecting the absorption rate. If delivery of aid were to improve, ECHO would be open to requesting additional funds from the emergency reserves. Because approval for supplemental funding needs to be obtained from the EU Member States, the additional tranche of 10 million euros is not expected to be available before the end of May. ECHO will apply it towards a variety of sectors in Darfur. According to ECHO Sudan Desk Officer Javier Perez, the decision to seek emergency funds is partly a result of USAID Administrator Natsios' appeal on behalf of Darfur at the recent OECD DAC High Level conference in Paris.

111. (SBU) ECHO Head of Unit for Africa Steffen Stenberg said that he expected total funding this year for Sudan and Sudanese refugees to be double that of 2003. He also noted the problems associated with access and subsequent problems of distributing relief aid, as well as the logistical difficulties which seasonal rains will soon create. He stressed the importance of remembering the plight of refugees in Chad which he characterized as "far from settled." ECHO supports UNHCR as the lead agency in coordinating in Chad and that of OCHA in coordinating in Darfur.

112. (SBU) EuropeAid Deputy Head for Food Security Robert Hynderick agreed that there had been a serious increase of needs in Darfur and said that the EC was expected to increase its funding from the four million euros it has already

allocated this year. EuropeAid is considering an additional five million euros for Sudan and one and a half million euros for Chad channeled through WFP. EuropeAid's funds will be used to purchase sorghum locally in order to get it quickly to the displaced populations. Hynderick questioned whether WFP's plans to airlift half of its food aid to the affected region was necessary given that the price (which is denominated in currency rather than tonnage) is already the highest in the world. USAID Food For Peace reps note we face similar issues, but we assume we will have to airlift food, thought hopefully not airdrops.

EU Statements on Darfur

13. (U) On 4/15, the Irish Presidency released the following declaration on behalf of the EU, acceding and associated countries: "The EU welcomes the signing of the humanitarian ceasefire agreement between the Government of Sudan and the SLM/SLA and the JEM. It calls on all parties to observe and scrupulously respect the rules of that agreement. It congratulates the Chadian mediators for their efforts to promote the conclusion of the agreement. It salutes the commitment of all parties to authorize unrestricted humanitarian access and facilitate the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the people of the Grand Darfur region. In this context it is essential that the Sudanese Government fulfill its commitment to control the irregular armed forces known as Janjaweed."

14. (U) On 4/27, the EU External Relations Council adopted the following conclusion on Sudan: "The Council expressed its grave concern at the situation in Darfur and called on the government of Sudan to allow full, unhindered access to the region for UN and other humanitarian agencies. The Council called on all parties to fully respect the terms of the humanitarian ceasefire agreement reach on 8 April in N'Djamena. The Council noted with concern the actions of the Janjaweed militias operating in Darfur and called on the Government of Sudan to take command of all armed groups under its control."

15. (U) On 4/28, Development and Humanitarian Commissioner Poul Nielson used an event unveiling ECHO's 2003 Annual Review to, as the press statement notes, "launch a strong appeal to the warring parties in the Darfur region of western Sudan." USEU will forward a transcript of these remarks septel when they become available.

MINIMIZED CONSIDERED.

SCHNABEL